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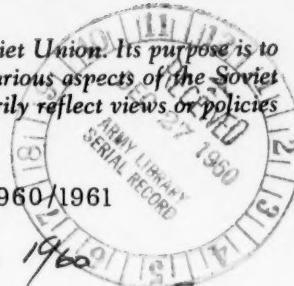
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Outline Of Reference Paper On:

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES

The compromise achieved at the Moscow conference of representatives of 81 Communist Parties is not likely to last long. This conclusion emerges from a close study of the "information report," published on December 2, of the December 6 "declaration," and of the slow progress of the conference.

The sharp restatements of the Soviet and Red Chinese positions that appeared in the newspapers of the two countries during the conference were glossed over by "evidence" of a "united Communist front," such as the unusual group photograph of the conference participants.

The official declaration shows that the Soviets for the present have been accorded the leading position in the world Communist movement while all the disputed ideological points have been formulated in accordance with the Red Chinese demands. Thus the main thesis of the declaration is the revived idea of taking over countries through a revolution.

The following predictions can be made on the basis of the conference materials:

- 1) Since the basic cause of Sino-Soviet tension--rivalry for the right to direct Communist expansion- was not removed, the achieved compromise is unstable;
- 2) Communist policy will become more aggressive;
- 3) There may be an attempt to restore the Comintern.

In fact, the process of re-creating this body may already be under way.

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No. 12, 1960/61

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES

The conference of representatives from 81 Communist Parties, held in Moscow to discuss outstanding differences and to co-ordinate world Communist policy has clearly revealed the extent of the disagreements between the USSR and Red China. In view of the depth of the ideological chasm separating the two countries, the compromise achieved at the conference is not likely to last.

The "information report" on the Moscow conference, which was published on December 2, 1960, supports this view. The following statement is characteristic of its vague tenor: "The participants in the conference exchanged experiences and acquainted themselves with each other's views and standpoints, discussed pressing problems of international developments in the interest of the struggle for common goals" (Pravda, December 2, 1960). Its non-committal wording indicates that there was a struggle at the conference between Moscow and Peking over the future Communist policy and that there was failure to reconcile the conflicting standpoints.

While the conference was in progress, the Peking newspaper Jenmin Jih Pao (People's Daily) and Pravda crossed ideological swords. The Chinese Party press also published a remark by a member of the Albanian delegation expressing his dissatisfaction over the Soviet policy of "begging for peace from imperialism," "prettifying the policy of the West," and "relaxing Communist vigilance." Besides invading Communist theory, the argument between Moscow and Peking has infected also science and the arts. E.g., while the Soviets celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Tolstoy with great pomp, extolling his works and philosophy, the Chinese press published a directive that "for Communists the study of the works of Tolstoy is a waste of time" (Neue Zurcher Zeitung, Zurich New Gazette, November 30, 1960). While the Soviet propaganda speaks of "humanism" as the basis of Soviet culture, the Chinese Party leaders condemn it in theirs.

After the conference, both the Soviets and Chinese set about to minimize the lack of agreement. The "information report" stressed that "the discussion of all questions took place in an atmosphere of brotherly friendship." Chairman of the Chinese Party Central Committee Liu Shao-chi proclaimed at meetings in Leningrad and Minsk the "brotherly friendship of the Soviet Union and China." The Soviet propagandists poured out articles to convince the world opinion that the contradictions between the USSR and Red China are fabrications of "bourgeois prophets," who attempt to "cast a shadow

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ove, the Soviet policy of friendship and cooperation with the other countries of the socialist camp, in particular with the Chinese People's Republic" (Izvestia, December 8, 1960).

A photograph of the 189 conference participants in the December 2 Pravda represents another attempt to demonstrate the "unity" achieved in the course of the discussions. Tradition permits photographs of the Communist leaders only when they are on the rostrum, in a congress presidium, or in the act of signing a particular document. In the Pravda photograph, all the conference participants were shown seated in a particular order. The seating of the delegates reflects the present distribution of forces in the world Communist movement. At the very center of the group are Khrushchev and Liu Shao-chi. They occupy completely equal positions in relation to the other delegates. On either side are the French Party leader Maurice Thorez and East German First Secretary of the Communist Party Walter Ulbricht. Then come the heads of the Communist Parties of the satellite states and of the capitalist countries. The photograph stresses the equal position of the Soviet Union and Red China in the world Communist movement and the principle of "collective leadership."

On December 6, 1960, the Soviet press published a "declaration of the representatives of the Communist and workers' Parties," which can be regarded as the program for future Communist policy. An analysis of the declaration indicates that the present solution is merely a temporary compromise between Moscow and Peking. The Soviets have been accorded the leading position in the world Communist movement, but all the disputed points have been formulated in accordance with the Red Chinese demands. The declaration notes that the "Soviet Union is the first country in history to lay the path to Communism for all mankind. It is the brightest example and most powerful support for the peoples of the entire world." On the other hand, "the people's revolution in China has inflicted a crushing blow on the imperialists in favor of socialism, has given a new impetus to the national-liberation movement, and has exerted an enormous influence on peoples, particularly on the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America." The honors accorded the Soviet Union are not Khrushchev's, however. The Premier himself and his policy are not mentioned at all in the declaration.

The declaration harps on the United States as the "main prop of colonialism," "the main force of aggression and reaction," "the main support of world reaction and the international gendarme--the enemy of the peoples of the entire world." The main task of Communist policy today is to create a united world front against the United States. This task is underlined by the thesis that the final struggle against capitalism is now taking place:

Our epoch, the main feature of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism.,, is the epoch of the struggle of two opposing social systems, the epoch of socialist and national-liberation revolutions, the epoch of the destruction of imperialism, the abolition of the colonial system, the epoch of the transition to socialism

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by all new peoples, of the triumph of socialism and Communism on a world-wide scale (Prado).

The concept of peaceful coexistence and the possibility of averting wars, although nominally recognized in the declaration, are nonetheless deprived of their original meaning by various countertheses. The recognition of the possibility of averting wars is demagogically combined with the proclamation of a united front against the United States:

Communists must carry out constant work among the masses in order not to permit an underestimation of the possibility of preventing a world war, an underestimation of the possibility of peaceful coexistence, and at the same time in order not to permit an underestimation of the danger of a war (Ibid.).

The main thesis of the declaration is the revival of the idea of revolution. Communist Parties in the non-Communist countries are ordered to make "the masses understand the tasks of the socialist revolution and the need to carry it out." The declaration guarantees protection from "interference by the imperialist powers" to those peoples which revolt:

Communist Parties consider it their international duty to call upon peoples of all countries to unite, to mobilize all their internal forces, to act, and, leaning on the aid of the world socialist system, to avert or decisively rebuff the interference of the imperialists in the affairs of the people of any country which has risen in revolution (Ibid.).

The declaration suggests that areas for the implementation of this policy will be Indochina, Algeria, Cuba, Latin America as a whole, the Congo, Berlin, and Germany.

The declaration does not mention the communique of the Bucharest Conference of Communist Parties, which was signed by 12 Communist Parties including Red China. The communique was regarded at the time as a modus vivendi for future co-operation. The Soviets had been referring to it as the basis for future policy, but evidently Peking was not satisfied.

Analyzing the materials of the conference one can obtain the following conclusions:

(1) The world Communist movement is presently split by the rivalry of Moscow and Peking, which are struggling for the right to direct Communist expansion. This rivalry is likely to continue, and it enables the other Communist states to maneuver more freely for their own ends.

(2) The conference declaration represents an unstable compromise. The disagreements between Moscow and Peking are so great that the results of the Moscow conference cannot support a firm program of action for world Communism. Sino-Soviet disagreements have already spread from the realm of theory to the state

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- 4 -

interests of both countries. It must also be remembered that the program of action is a concession to the Chinese dogmatists. It diverges from the Soviet view and runs counter to the wishes of the Soviet people, particularly the younger generation.

(3) Communist policy in the immediate future will be more aggressive in tone. The enrollment of all Communist Parties means that this policy will cease to be a clash between two fronts and become world-wide in scope.

(4) The manner in which the conference was held and the declaration provide grounds for the assumption that there was an attempt to restore the Comintern. Since the Chinese Party leaders were not strong enough to have their own way at a restricted conference of 12 Communist Parties, they compelled Moscow to extend discussion of world Communist policy to a forum of all Communist Parties. Any future attempt by the Communist bloc to make decisions will lead to opposition by the other Communist Parties. In fact the process of re-creating the Comintern is under way, as shown by the formation of the necessary Central Executive Committee. This process is furthered by the recognition of the principle of "collective leadership" and by the emphasis on the equal position of Moscow and Peking.

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